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Evading agreement: A new perspective on low nominative agreement in Icelandic*

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1. Introduction: Low Nominatives in Icelandic

One of the various aspects of Icelandic syntax that is well-established in the literature is that it allows agreement with nominative DPs that are not in the canonical subject position, which may in some cases be occupied by a different (non-nominative) argument. In this paper we will present one of the least-studied cases in Icelandic where there may be agreement with a “low nominative:” namely agreement in specificational copular clauses. These cases are of particular interest because, in contrast to most other configurations, agreement with the low nominative appears to involve “skipping” agreement with a higher argument that is also nominative. Further, as we will show, agreement is possible not only for Number but also for Person, providing another counterexample to the putative generalization that agreement for Person is always strictly local (Baker 2008).

We first set the scene by briefly summarising established facts concerning agreement with low nominatives in Icelandic in two types of Dative/Nominative (DAT/NOM) construction. We take for granted here that it has been well established that the Dative argument in both cases occupies the canonical subject position, while the Nominative argument is in a lower position (see Thráinsson 2007 for overview and references to earlier work). (1) illustrates agreement for Number with a 3rd person Nominative object. For some speakers there is also the alternative of “default” 3rd singular in this case; there is considerable speaker variation as to preference (Sigurðsson & Holmberg 2008, Thráinsson et al. 2015).

- (1) Henni líkaðu/líkaði þeir.
her.DAT liked.3.PL/3SG they.NOM
‘She liked them.’

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(2) shows that agreement for Person, on the other hand, is not possible.

- (2) *Henni líkaðir/líkaði þú.
her.DAT liked.2.SG/3SG you.NOM
‘She liked you.’

Strikingly, even default agreement is not possible here; 1st/2nd person nominative objects are generally taken to be ungrammatical, regardless of agreement. This effect is independent of word order (that is, whether or not the dative occupies the first position in the clause, or intervenes between the finite verb and the nominative object).

A well-accepted account of the failure of Person agreement relies on the concept of DEFECTIVE INTERVENTION: the ϕ -features of the dative argument cannot value the Person probe of the verb (defective), but nevertheless prevent it probing further (intervention). However, defective intervention of itself does not predict the pattern observed above. Even setting aside the question of Number agreement, without further assumptions there is also no answer to the question of why default agreement is unacceptable when the nominative is non-3rd person, as in (2), in contrast to (1).

There are two alternative approaches in the literature to dealing with this. First, it has been proposed as a universal property of 1st and 2nd person pronouns that they require to be licensed by entering into an agreement relation specifically with a Person probe, as motivated for the Person Case Constraint in other languages (see e.g. the Person Licensing Condition in Béjar & Rezac 2003). Alternatively, Schütze (2003) has argued that the problem has to do with morphological spell-out: the finite verb attempts to agree **both** with the dative (which by hypothesis results in 3rd person agreement) and the nominative argument, but the result is only grammatical if there is a morphological form that can spell out the resulting feature combination; thus, the ungrammaticality of (2) is attributed to a conflict in the morphological spell-out of agreement features.

A *prima facie* argument against the first type of approach, in terms of a licensing condition on 1st and 2nd person pronouns, is that such pronouns can show up in nominative cases in certain small clauses in Icelandic where no verb agrees with them. Thus (3a,b) contrast with (2).

- (3) a. Kennarum fannst þið svo sniðug.
teacher.DEF.DAT found.3.SG you.PL.NOM so clever
‘The teacher considered you so clever.’
b. Henni *þóttir/þótti þú vera dugleg.
her.DAT thought.*2.SG/3SG you.SG.NOM be.INF industrious
‘She thought that you were industrious.’

This problem is noted in Preminger (2011), where it is proposed that it can be resolved by relativizing the Person Licensing Condition to a local domain, so that only a non-3rd person pronoun *in the same clause* as a Person ϕ -probe has to be Licensed by agreement with that ϕ -probe. However, the principal argument in favour of the “multiple agreement” approach

of Schütze (2003) is not this issue, but rather an effect of morphological syncretism noted in Sigurðsson (1996). Namely, syncretism between 3rd person and 1st/2nd person makes low nominative acceptable to many speakers even in monoclausal cases:

- (4) a. *Henni leiddumst/leiddist/leiddust við.
her.DAT bored.1.PL/3.SG/3.PL we.NOM
'She found us boring.'
- b. Henni leiddist ég/pú.
her.DAT bored.1/2/3.SG I.NOM/you.S.NOM
'She found me/you boring.'

It is worth noting that under either proposal, there is *some effect* of the intervention of the higher, Dative DP, but never full agreement with it.

2. New data from an understudied case of low nominatives

2.1 Specificational copular clauses

We now turn to another case where, we will argue, agreement can take place with a nominative argument that is not in the canonical subject position but lower in the clause: the case of specificational copular clauses (SCCs), illustrated by the English examples in (5) (although note that English, unlike Icelandic, has to use the tonic, non-nominative, form of any pronoun in postcopular position).¹

- (5) a. The source of the rumour was you.
b. The main problem is them.

Den Dikken (2014) includes an investigation of sentences of this type in Dutch and reports, based on informal judgment data, that they show a pattern strikingly similar to the monoclausal DAT/NOM paradigm in Icelandic:²

- Agreement with DP2 is obligatory for **Number** but impossible for **Person**.³ Compare the pattern observed in the Icelandic DAT/NOM paradigm illustrated in (1)–(2) above.
- When DP2 is **1st/2nd** person, SCCs are simply **ungrammatical**, like the Icelandic DAT/NOM paradigm in (2) and (4a) ...

¹In the literature on copular sentences, what we are calling specificational copular clauses, following Higgins (1973), are also referred to as inverse copular clauses (see e.g. Moro 1997).

²This characterization of the facts about Dutch presented in den Dikken (2014) is ours, not den Dikken's.

³From the description of the facts in den Dikken (2014) it would appear that there is a difference here, in that in the Icelandic DAT/NOM paradigm, Number agreement with low nominatives appears generally to be optional, rather than obligatory. However, the data reported in Hartmann & Heycock (2015a,b) suggest that in Dutch also there is considerable variation in the possibility/preference for DP2 Number agreement.

- ... except if the morphology of the verb is **syncretic**. Compare Icelandic (4b).

How agreement patterns in specificational clauses in Icelandic itself, however, has hardly been investigated to date, beyond some brief remarks in Sigurðsson (1996), Sigurðsson & Holmberg (2008). In order to better understand whether such clauses do in fact show the same behaviour as DAT/NOM cases, which would suggest that a single analysis should be found for both, we therefore conducted an experimental questionnaire-based study.

2.2 Person Agreement in SCCs in Icelandic: experimental results

2.2.1 Brief summary of study

To investigate agreement in SCCs, we ran a fill-in-the-blanks study. The study was implemented using OnExp (developed by E. Onea and A. Syring) and run online. Participants, all self-reported native speakers of Icelandic, were recruited via personal networks. There were 75 in total: 43 female, 32 male; ages ranged from 22 to 79, with a mean of 45. We tested five different conditions, illustrated in (6).

- (6)
- | | | |
|----|--|------------|
| A. | Hann var að velta fyrir sér hvort aðalvandamálið ____ þeir.
he was wondering if main problem.DEF ____ they
'He was wondering whether the main problem ____ them.' | 3s-3p-COLL |
| B. | Hann var að velta fyrir sér hvort aðalvandamálið ____ þú.
he was wondering if main problem.DEF ____ you.s
'He was wondering whether the main problem ____ you.sg.' | 3s-2s-COLL |
| C. | Hann var að velta fyrir sér hvort líklegasti sigurvegarinn ____ þú.
He was wondering if most likely winner.DEF ____ you.s
'He was wondering whether the most likely winner ____ you.sg.' | 3s-2s-DIST |
| D. | Hann var að velta fyrir sér hvort aðalvandamálið ____ þið.
He was wondering if main problem.DEF ____ you.pl
'He was wondering whether the main problem ____ you.pl.' | 3s-2p-COLL |
| E. | Hann var að velta fyrir sér hvort líklegustu sigurvegararnir ____ þið.
He was wondering if most likely winners.DEF ____ you.pl
'He was wondering whether the most likely winners ____ you.pl.' | 3p-2p-COLL |

15 sets like (6) were constructed and distributed in a Latin square design so that each participant saw 3 exemplars of each condition, each from a different set: a total of 15 test sentences per participant. In addition there were 27 fillers; the order of presentation of fillers and test sentences was randomized per participant. Participants were presented with individual sentences on the screen; their task was to fill in the blank with a word of their choice. The expectation was that experimental items with two nominative DPs were most likely to be combined with the copula *vera* 'be' (it was for this reason that the 3rd person plural pronoun used was always the masculine *þeir*, since it has a distinct nominative form, while both the feminine and the neuter—which is also used for mixed-gender groups—

are syncretic for nominative/accusative in the plural). In the relatively rare cases where participants chose some other verb, those responses were discarded.⁴

Only a subset of the logically possible combinations of person and number actually occurs in specificational sentences. First, the initial DP (DP1 henceforth), is always 3rd person. Second, while DP1 may be singular while DP2 is plural, as in Conditions A and D, or both may be plural, as in Condition E, there are very restricted possibilities for DP1 to be plural while DP2 is singular, hence this combination is not included in the test materials.⁵ Further, the class of nouns that occurs readily in specificational sentences where there is a difference in number between DP1 and DP2 (and so can appear in Conditions A and D), is largely disjoint from the class that easily pluralise (and so can appear in Condition E). In our materials, DPs with nouns in the first class, which we termed COLL[ECTIVE], included *aðalvandamálið* ‘the main problem’, *orðrómsins* ‘the source of the rumour’, *ástæðan fyrir kvíða hans* ‘the reason for his anxiety.’ DPs with nouns in the second class, which we termed DIST[RIBUTIVE], included *líklegasti sigurvegarinn* ‘the most likely winner’, *há-vaxnasta manneskjan hér* ‘the tallest person there’, *manneskjan, sem þau voru að leita að* ‘the person they were looking for’. In order to investigate any effect of Number on DP1 while ensuring that the distinction between these two noun classes did not constitute a confound for the comparison, we included a pair of conditions where the only difference was whether DP1 was in the Collective or Distributive class. In this way, we could determine whether this difference had any independent effect on the choice of DP1 or DP2 agreement.

Finally, in all cases the specificational copular clause appeared as an embedded interrogative introduced by *hvort* ‘whether/if’. This was to minimize the possibility that speakers might parse the SCCs as topicalizations (A'-movement) of a predicate, with DP2 as subject in the canonical high subject position, that is, as equivalent to (7b) rather than (7a).

- (7) a. The problem is the boys.
b. The problem, the boys are.

As Icelandic is a V2 language, such topicalization would be string-identical to a specificational sentence. While such a parse is hard to rule out unequivocally, it would be very disfavoured in this context (see e.g. Thráinsson 2007, p. 44 (“in embedded questions and relative clauses in Icelandic [...] Topicalization is usually quite bad or even impossible”), and the quantitative data in Heycock et al. 2010, p. 83).

2.2.2 Overview of raw data

The distribution of agreement choices is set out in the table in (8).

⁴For a more detailed description of the experimental set-up, the materials, and the statistical analysis, see Hartmann & Heycock (2015b).

⁵If a language has plurale tantum nouns with appropriate meanings, these give rise to potential Plural–Singular specificational clauses; we are currently investigating this configuration in Icelandic.

(8) *DP1 vs. DP2 Agreement per condition (irrelevant cases excluded)*

Cond	Structure	DP1Agr	DP2Agr	DP2Agr(Nr)	Total
A	3s-3p-coll	74 (34%)	143 (66%)	n.a.	217
B	3s-2s-coll	109 (52%)	99 (48%)	n.a.	208
C	3s-2s-dist	113 (52%)	105 (48%)	n.a.	218
D	3s-2p-coll	68 (32%)	80 (38%)	63 (30%)	211
E	3p-2p-dist	118 (56%)	91 (44%)	n.a.	209

A number of preliminary observations can be made about these results. First, choice of agreement is not affected by whether DP1 falls into the Collective or Distributive class. This is demonstrated by the fact that a planned comparison between Conditions B and C yielded no significant difference (per items and per participants $F < 1$). This means that we can effectively treat Conditions D and E as differing only in the number of DP1, since although DP1 in Condition D has to be in the Collective class, and DP1 in Condition E in the Distributive class, we now have evidence that this potential difference between the nominals has no effect on agreement. There is also no interaction between Number and Person. That is to say, the rate of agreement with 2nd person DP2 is not different in the plural (E) than in the singular (B, C) (per items and per participants $F < 1$).

Second, it is clear that “downward agreement” (agreement with DP2) for Person is possible, as shown by its robust attestation in Conditions B, C, D and E (we will return to the third option attested for Condition D below). Agreement for Person is, however, less favoured than agreement in Number with DP2: there is a significant difference in agreement choice between Condition A (where DP1 and DP2 differ only in Number) and Condition B (where they differ only in Person), with DP2 agreement less favoured in the latter than the former (per participants: $F_1 = 11.5$, $p < .005$; per items: $F_2 = 25.5$, $p < .001$).

Third, when speakers choose not to agree with DP2, the alternative is agreement with DP1, and not “default” agreement. This can only be shown when DP1 is plural, as in Condition E. Default agreement would be 3rd singular: this was never chosen, rather speakers either produced 2nd plural forms (DP2 agreement) or 3rd plural (DP1 agreement).

Fourth, in one condition only, there turned out to be an unexpected option. In Condition D, where DP1 was 3rd singular, and DP2 2nd plural, about one third of the time speakers produced 3rd plural agreement, as in (9):

- (9) Hann var að velta fyrir sér hvort aðalvandamálið **væru** þið.
 He was wondering if main problem.def **be.3pl** you.pl
 ‘He was wondering whether the main problem is you.pl’

A priori, we see two possible interpretations for this pattern. The first is that some speakers have (at least optionally) a ‘nonstandard’ agreement paradigm for *vera* ‘be,’ with syncretism between 2nd and 3rd person in the plural, rather than the standard pattern with a distinct person morpheme illustrated in (10).

(10) *Standard 2nd and 3rd person agreement for vera ‘to be’ in Icelandic*

	Ind. Pres.	Ind. Past	Subj. Pres.	Subj. Past
2 plural	er-u-ð	vor-u-ð	sé-u-ð	vær-u-ð
3 plural	er-u	vor-u	sé-u	vær-u

While the final consonant is frequently absent in speech, as part of a more general phenomenon of voiced fricative deletion (see e.g. Helgason 1993, Árnason 2011, Ch. 14), we are not aware of any claim in the literature that this is a morphological, rather than phonological fact. The alternative possibility is that this is a case of agreement with a non-3rd person plural DP2 in Number only, while Person agreement is either with DP1 or simply default. The frequency and distribution of this option, we consider, suggest that it may be the effect of both (see Hartmann & Heycock 2015b for more detailed discussion).⁶

Finally, there is a significant degree of both inter- and intra-speaker variation. Recall that each speaker saw each condition three times. For each condition, we counted the number of speakers who consistently chose DP1 or DP2 agreement, or who produced examples of both: the results are presented in (11).

(11) *Number of speakers with uniform/variable agreement per condition*

Cond	Description	DP1Agr only	DP2Agr only	variable agreement
A	3s-3p-coll	16	38	19
B	3s-2s-coll	32	27	14
C	3s-2s-dist	28	25	20
D	3s-2p-coll	13	full 19 partial 14	26
E	3p-2p-dist	34	23	15

The table shows the numbers of speakers who were consistent/variable within each condition; note further that there was only partial overlap between the speakers who were consistent in the different conditions. Overall, there are 8 speakers who consistently show DP1 agreement across conditions A-C and E, and 7 speakers who show consistently DP2 agreement in these conditions. The largest group, 55 participants, show variable agreement within and/or across conditions. Hence the variation in the data cannot simply be explained as the result of pooling data from speakers from two distinct dialect groups.

2.3 Discussion: What do we learn from these data?

We can conclude the following main points from the data on low nominative agreement in specificational copular clauses. First, nominative agreement in SCCs exhibits a **different** pattern than agreement in DAT/NOM cases in the following respects. (a) “Downward” agreement in person is possible, although subject to speaker variation (note that this is *con-*

⁶Initial results from a rating study support this view: there are speakers that indeed take *eru* to be syncretic between 2nd and 3rd person plural; at the same time, there are speakers that do not show syncretism but still accept Number-only agreement in this configuration. See also the brief discussion of “half agreement” in DAT/NOM cases in Sigurðsson & Holmberg (2008).

tra Baker’s 2008 SCOPA generalization). In contrast, as noted earlier, downward agreement for person is excluded in DAT/NOM constructions in the absence of syncretism. (b) Default agreement is not possible in SCCs; in contrast it is for many speakers the preferred option with DAT/NOM (see Sigurðsson & Holmberg 2008 and Thráinsson et al. 2015).⁷ (c) For a significant subset of speakers, Number agreement with DP1 is possible in SCCs, but it is ruled out in DAT/NOM: the verb never agrees in number with the initial dative.

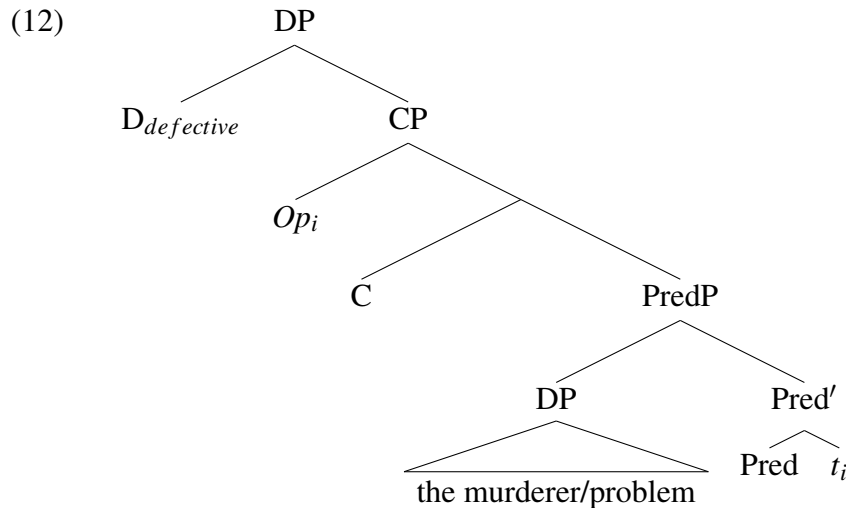
Second, low 1st/2nd person nominatives can appear even where there is no person agreement to “license” them, i.e. also in those cases when native speakers provide agreement with DP1 (as also in the “biclausal” DAT/NOM case). This further weakens this as an ingredient in accounts of constraints on low nominatives in Icelandic more generally.

We conclude from this data first, that for some speakers, namely those who show agreement with DP1, DP1 does intervene, however, there is nothing defective in this intervention. Speakers provide full DP1 agreement. Second, for other speakers, namely those who show full agreement with DP2, DP1 does not intervene.⁸ That is, we could characterize the pattern we found as **variable**, but **not defective**, intervention.

3. Proposal

3.1 How to evade agreement

There are essentially two ways in which DP1 could fail to “intervene” and capture agreement. First, it could fail to have accessible ϕ -features, and hence be “invisible” to the probe. This is the approach of den Dikken (2014), Bejar & Kahnemuyipour (2014), who assume a complex structure for DP1 as sketched in (12).



⁷Initial results from a rating experiment show that “default” 3sg agreement is judged the least acceptable option when neither DP1 and DP2 are 3rd singular.

⁸The third pattern that we found, namely Number-only DP2 agreement, might be considered a case of defective intervention (DP1 intervenes for person but not for number). We come back to this point below, showing that even if we conceptualize this situation as intervention, it is of a different type than what we find in the literature on DAT/NOM cases.

In this structure, the D head does not select for a noun phrase, thus it cannot inherit and project a full set of ϕ -features—in fact Bejar & Kahnemuyipour (2014) argue that in a specificational sentence DP1 has **no** ϕ -features that are accessible to probing. Hence if a probe carries anything other than the most general possible specification (as is argued to be the case for a language like English where DP2 agreement is largely absent), DP1 will not intervene, and the probe will find DP2.

Since by hypothesis such a DP1 has no accessible ϕ -features, the 3rd singular morphology found on the English copula in cases like *The problem is those people / you* must be a default. However, as discussed above, in Icelandic when DP1 is 3rd plural and DP2 2nd plural (Condition E), all speakers who do not produce DP2 agreement (2nd plural) produce 3rd **plural**—that is, agreement with the plural DP1.⁹ Thus we have direct evidence that DP1 in specificational copular clauses in Icelandic can have accessible ϕ -features—at the least it has Number features—and default agreement appears to be ungrammatical.¹⁰

The second alternative is that DP1 is not in the domain of the probe when agreement takes place. This is the approach we pursue here.

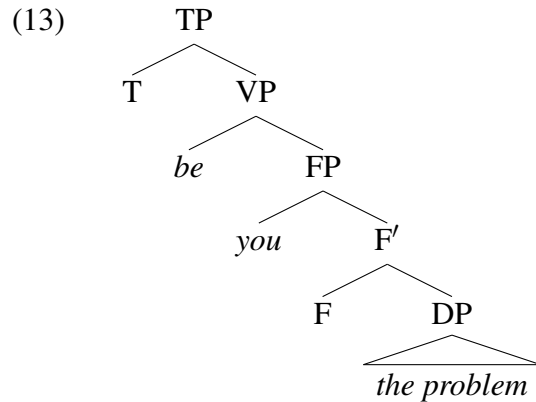
3.2 Different landing sites for DP1

In Heycock (2012), Hartmann & Heycock (2014), we have argued that DP2 agreement arises in specificational sentences when a language allows DP1 to move directly to a position above Tense/the agreement probe. That is, following many researchers, including Heggie (1988), Moro (1991, 1997), Mikkelsen (2005), den Dikken (2006), we assume that the underlying structure of a specificational sentence involves a small clause headed by some functional element F in which the referential DP is the subject, and the DP that will eventually move to initial position (DP1) is the underlying syntactic predicate, i.e. the complement of the small clause head (F below, Pr in Bowers 1993).¹¹

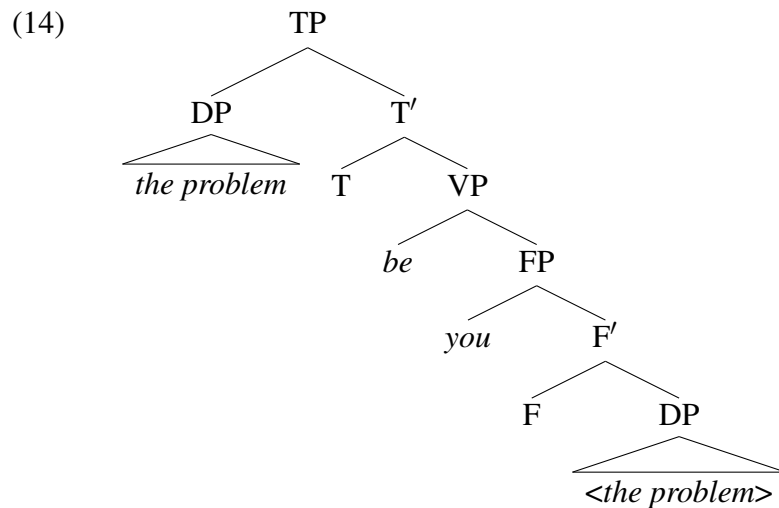
⁹While some cases of 3rd plural agreement in Condition E may be attributable to Number-only agreement with DP2, it is implausible to propose that all of them are, given that the rate of Number-only agreement in Condition D is 30%, while the frequency of 3rd plural agreement in Condition E is almost twice that, at 56%.

¹⁰Essentially the same point can be made about the plural agreement found in similar sentences in English (*The most likely winners {are/*is} you*). The ungrammaticality of singular shows that default agreement is in fact ungrammatical, and given that DP2 agreement in English is strongly dispreferred the plural agreement is more plausibly triggered by *winners* than by *you*.

¹¹We actually follow Romero (2005, 2007) in taking the non-referential DP to have the type of a concealed question; as argued in Heycock (2012) this is consistent with its ability to carry an accessible Plural feature.



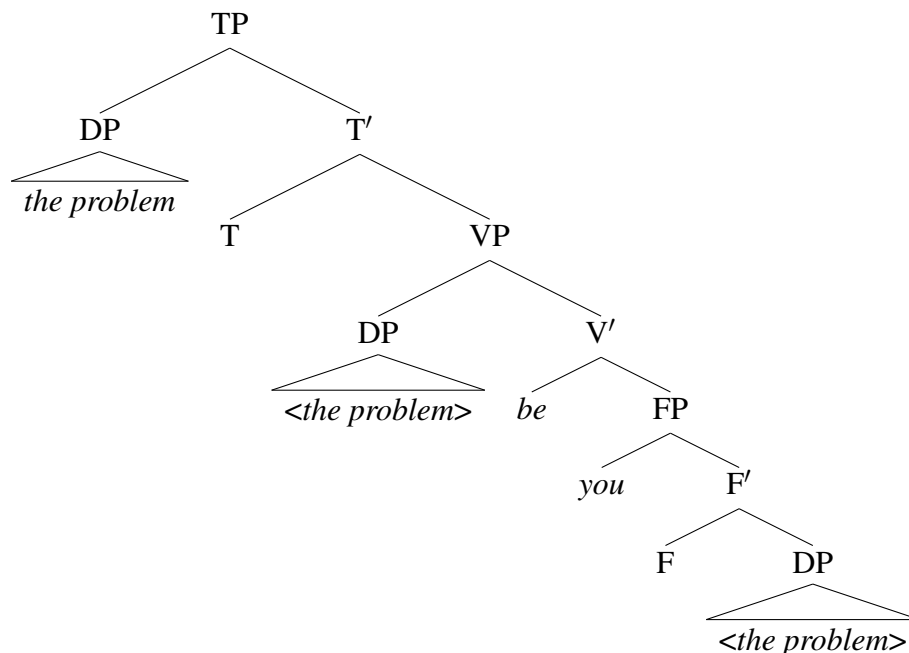
Assuming T probes downward for ϕ -features, if the lower DP in the small clause moves past the higher, it will be in a position outside of the domain of agreement for T, see (14).



As a result, the structure in (14) will always yield DP2 agreement.

But if the lower DP moves via an intermediate site below T, e.g. the specifier of the projection headed by *be*, as suggested in Heycock (2012), the result will be DP1 agreement (as long as we adopt the assumption of e.g. Sigurðsson & Holmberg 2008 that agreement takes place as soon as the verb moves to T). See (15).

(15)

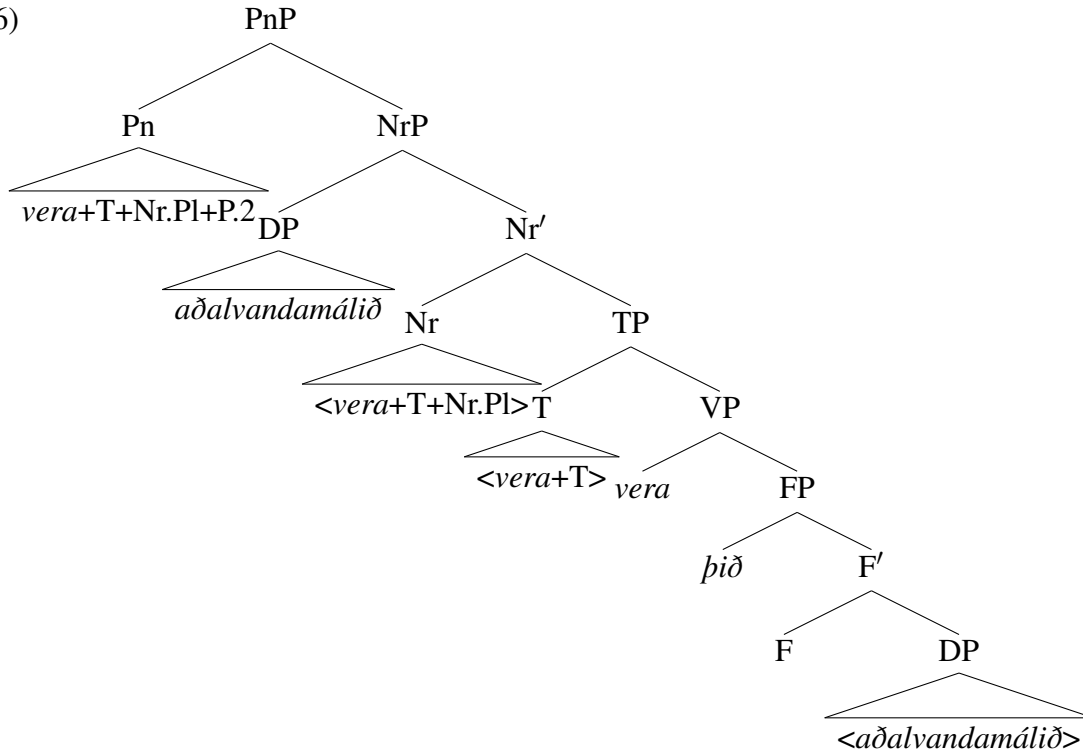


In English this latter type of derivation appears to be the only option (cf. Holmberg 2009: English has ϕ -dependent EPP). In other languages, however, there may be no such restriction. In German and—to a lesser extent—Dutch, phrases may reach the position above T via a process of scrambling: see Hartmann & Heycock 2014 for discussion. Icelandic does not allow scrambling, but we take it that a derivation such as that sketched in (14) is available (although, as we have also seen, the English-type pattern also occurs in the usage of at least some speakers).

Finally, the case of Number-only agreement with DP2 seems to suggest that Person and Number can be independent probes, as proposed already in Sigurðsson & Holmberg (2008), providing an intermediate landing site for DP1. The crucial intermediate stage in a derivation that will yield Number-only agreement with DP2 is illustrated in (16). Note that in this case DP1 is the highest DP below the Person probe, but DP2 is the highest DP below the Number probe. This will yield the Number-only agreement pattern discussed earlier; conversely, there is no possible derivation that will yield non-occurring “Person-only” agreement.

Thus, we propose that the variable agreement with low nominatives in SCCs in Icelandic is a result of the availability of different landing sites for DP1. DP1 is moved to a preverbal position from a position below DP2. Depending on the availability of a landing site below or above the person/number probe(s), we observe DP1, DP2, or Number-only DP2 agreement. This analysis of the data in SCCs has the advantage that it opens the possibility of explaining why agreement with low nominatives in SCCs behaves differently to agreement in DAT/NOM cases. First, of course, we have argued that DP1 in an SCC can carry an accessible Number feature, and hence potentially controls plural agreement; conversely, the literature converges on the conclusion that a Dative DP can never do so. Second, in SCCs the variable behaviour is a result of different target positions for a DP1 that moves from a position in which it is “hidden” from the probe by a higher DP (DP2,

(16)



the subject of the small clause). It may either move into a position where it is the highest goal for the Number/Person probe(s) or it may escape the domain of agreement entirely. Movement below both Person and Number results in full DP1 agreement, movement above both Person and Number results in full DP2 agreement, and movement in between the two probes results in Number-only DP2 agreement. In Icelandic DAT/NOM constructions, on the other hand, the Dative argument enters the derivation higher than the Nominative, and hence has reduced options for avoiding acting as a (defective) intervenor.

3.3 Conclusion

In this paper, we have presented new data bearing on the agreement found in Specificational Copular Clauses in Icelandic, a hitherto relatively little-described case of potential agreement with a “low Nominative.” We have argued that in this case we do not find “defective” intervention of the kind that has been reported in previous literature. The pattern of person agreement in SCCs is different from agreement patterns with DAT/NOM verbs: SCCs do not allow “default” 3rd singular agreement on the verb, and do not require syncretism for downwards agreement for Person. Instead we find variable agreement with DP1 or DP2, depending on the availability of a landing site for DP1 below T. DP1 in an SCC can evade agreement by moving from a low position within a small clause to a position above the agreeing head. Our data show that DP1 bears at least accessible Number features, which is expected if it denotes a Concealed Question—Romero (2005, 2007), Heycock (2012)

(contra den Dikken 2006, Bejar & Kahnemuyipour 2014). Our results are also relevant for the study of agreement in Icelandic DAT/NOM constructions, as they provide another case demonstrating that 1st/2nd person nominative pronouns in this language do not need to be licensed by person agreement. More generally, our data show that agreement for Person, not just Number, can be “downwards” (contra Baker’s SCOPA). Thus, the study of agreement in SCCs contributes to the discussion of agreement and intervention in Icelandic as well as the mechanisms underlying agreement. One major task for future work is gaining a better understanding of the considerable variation in agreement preferences—both inter- and intra-speaker variation—that has been shown here for Icelandic, but preliminary results indicate is also attested at least in Dutch (Hartmann & Heycock 2014).

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